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HON. GEO. W. WOODWARD

AND THE

Gubernatorial Contest in Pennsylvania.

REVIEW OF HIS SPEECH IN INDEPENDENCE SQUARE,

PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 13, 1860.

A TRUE EXPOSITION OF HIS PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES,

BY

WILLIAM A. COOK.

CHR. NICLE PRINT
1860.

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INTRODUCTORY CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16, 1863.

WM. A. COOK, ESQ.: 1863

Dear Sir:—I have read with much pleasure, profit, and satisfaction, your seathing exposition of the course of Judge G. W. Woodard as touching the great and vital issues of the day—issues involving the existence of this Republic. We trust you will gather up from the columns of the Philadelphia *Press*—where we read it—and place in more convenient form for distribution the record of a man so unfaithful to freedom and at the same time so aspiring. Those who intend to vote for Woodward should know just what he does believe. They will learn that in your letters.

Very respectfully, &c.,

D. L. EATON,

SAM. CALDWELL,

A. W. KIMMEL,

M. P. SMITH,

And others.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., Sept. 16, 1863.

MAJ. D. L. EATON, S. CALDWELL, A. W. KEMMEL, AND OTHERS:

Gentlemen:—I have received your note of to-day, requesting me to place in a "more convenient form for distribution" the letter which appeared in the *Press* of the 1st inst., addressed to the Hon. George H. Woodward over the *nom de guerre* of "Westmoreland."

Thanking you for the kind and flattering terms in which you have made this request, with the least possible delay I will comply with it.

It may be proper to state that your opinion respecting the letter coincides with that expressed by the distinguished "Editor of the *Press*" at the date of its publication. This was his reference to it:

"On our first page we print a letter from one of our ablest citizens in regard to the record of Mr. Justice Woodward. The facts it states every man should remember. They cannot be contradicted, and their meaning cannot be misunderstood. We earnestly endorse the argument of our correspondent, and would especially recommend it to the supporters of Judge Woodward. Many of them cannot fail to perceive its force and truth, and not a few will be convinced that his election will be injurious to the highest interests of the country."

To produce more than this commendatory notice in connection with your request, as a justification for the publication of the letter in the present form would be useless.

I have taken, however, the liberty of adding another letter which I have recently addressed to Mr. Woodward, and which I trust you will find, in all respects, equal to the one which called forth your request.

If time and other engagements permits, I may add to these letters one or two others.

The fact is, the more thoroughly the principles and opinions of Mr. Woodward are examined, the more profound becomes the conviction of his unfitness for the position to which he aspires.

Earnestly hoping that a significant "defeat" awaits him on the second Tuesday of October, and that Pennsylvania will then speak out in no uncertain tones against the unhallowed rebellion of the South, and those who, in the North, "cheer it on" by their voices, pens, and actions,

I am truly yours,

WILLIAM A. COOK.

THE CANVASS FOR GOVERNOR.

THE RECORD OF MR. JUSTICE WOODWARD, AND AN EXAMINATION OF HIS CLAIMS FOR THE GUBERNATORIAL CHAIR. HIS ADVO- CACY OF NATIONAL DISRUPTION OR SECESSION, &c

Hon. George W. Woodward:

SIR:—

It has been decided by an eminent jurist of this country, that "the right to canvass the claims of candidates for public favor belongs to each citizen." This right, in the present crisis, becomes a duty, which no one, however humble, can innocently disregard. I, therefore, propose to inquire concerning your fitness for the position to which you aspire in Pennsylvania. In doing this, I will confine myself, at least temporarily, to a speech delivered by you at "The Grand Union Demonstration," which took place in "Independence Square," Philadelphia, on the 13th of December, 1860. To this neither you nor your trained champions can object. That speech was not extemporized. It was "*read*," and hence must be regarded as containing your matured views and principles. That it was "coolly received" by your auditors, as appears from the fact that it called forth no expression of approval, is not surprising. For carefully prepared as it was, it was a very ordinary production. Moreover, it was entirely out of place—replete with misrepresentations—incorrect in its premises and deductions—coarse and unfounded in its invective, and sectional and unpatriotic in its positions. All this, and more, I may clearly and briefly show.

In the execution of this purpose, I will not be influenced to the slightest extent, by the appearance of the prefix "Judge" to your name, or by the announcement that you are "of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." Positions requiring honor and ability are not unfrequently *rashly* or *unwisely* bestowed on individuals. "The doings of Time" have convinced many that they greatly erred, when they assisted in placing "the judicial ermine" on your athletic form. Besides, it is only when you are actually invested with the ermine, when you are "mounted upon your tripod," that you can expect especial deference, or claim peculiar courtesies. On all other occasions, you are only George W. Woodward. So I shall regard you. And, first, I will refer to the part which you acted in "the Union Demonstration."

How it happened that you were an actor at all in that "great assembly of freemen," it would be useless to determine. Perhaps, it was the result of "factional intrigues," with which you are not unfamiliar, or perhaps your appearance was attributable to mistaken conceptions of your character and abilities. Be this as it may, you participated in the proceedings of the demonstration. But how, sir? As an enlightened statesman? As a pure patriot? As a magnanimous and wise counsellor? No, sir; but as an artful demagogue—as a heated partisan. What a manifest impropriety was there in this! The nation was disturbed in her long repose of quiet and security. Hearts were inflamed—minds excited. The demon of discord was abroad in the land. The hands of conspirators rudely grasped "the grand old stars and stripes." The eyes of traitors rested on the marble of the nation's capitol; her invaluable and sacred institutions were impelled.

Men of almost every political sentiment were gathered "in the City of Brotherly Love," near the spot which the deliberation of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and their compeers had hallowed and consecrated, to do what they could to allay strife and to preserve unshattered the great edifice of our liberties. How important was the assemblage! How thrilling was the occasion! How sacred the hour! Then, if ever, partisan aims should have been forgotten, and factional passions should have slumbered peacefully as the unruffled billows of ocean. So others felt, so others acted. It was, however, otherwise with you.

Their visions extended beyond their parties, and embraced the whole nation. Yours was confined to the narrow, and pitiable limits of your "political sect."

They stood up in the purity and dignity of patriots.

You in the form and garb of a cabalist. Their words were mild and conciliatory—yours harsh and denunciatory. Most infelicitous and ill-timed was your "*read*" speech! It was so regarded at the time. For it must have been in reference to it and you, that the President of Select Council subsequently ex-

claimed, "*the people*, no matter to what particular household they belong, *forgetting all party ties*, and all questions of mere political expediency, animated *alone by love for their country*, have broken the green withes with which *political tricksters*, of whatever name, have sought to bind them, and, to-day, the people, one great, united people, animated by a common heart, and moving with an equal tread, keep step to the music of the Union." This utterance of Mr. Cuyler was received with significant approval, with "*prolonged and vociferous applause*," and if your sensibilities had not been peculiarly seared, this "*applause*" would have crimsoned your cheeks and fallen with stinging reproach upon your heart. It was enough, however, that you were thus directly and promptly rebuked.

Not content with marring the sacredness and disturbing the harmony of the demonstration with the aspect, voice, and opinions of an abject partisan, you most glaringly misrepresented the principles and designs of the then "President elect." This you did by a false reference to a speech made by him at Springfield, Illinois, June 17, 1858, insisting that he designed to "*divest the people of the South of their 'peculiar property' and to revolutionize as respects it their 'habits,' 'social condition,' etc.*" At the same time you passed by all his subsequent speeches, in which his policy and views were clearly presented. These were published in Columbus, Ohio, in 1860, by Follett, Foster & Co., in a volume styled "*Political Debates, etc.*" In several of them he explicitly stated that he had no intention to make war "*on the institutions of the South*." On the 10th of July, 1858, at Chicago, he said: "I have said a hundred times, and I have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right, and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free States, to enter into the slave States and interfere with the question of slavery at all." And he then added: "*And when it is said that I am in favor of interfering with slavery where it exists, I know it is unwarranted by anything I have ever intended, and, as I believe, by anything I have ever said. If, by any means, I have ever used language which could fairly be construed (as, however, I believe I never have,) I now correct it.*"

At Quincy, Illinois, on the 13th of October of 1858, he repeated the same sentiments, and said that all he wished, "*in relation to the institution of slavery*," was to have it "*placed upon the basis that our fathers placed it upon*." These views he subsequently, in September 1859, uttered at Columbus, Ohio, and in Cincinnati. In the latter place he said, "I assure you that I never had any purpose, in any way, of interfering with the

institution of slavery where it exists." * * * * * "I think slavery is wrong morally and politically. I desire that it should be no further spread in these United States, and I should not object if it should gradually terminate in the whole Union." * * * * * And, addressing his "Democratic slaveholding Kentucky hearers," he used this language—viz.: * * * * * "I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, *as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison* treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institution; *to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution*," &c. * * * * *

And then, turning to his political friends, he spoke thus: "I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, &c.

"We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the out-spreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial Slave Code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or courts. *The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.*"

Now, why was it that you maintained a profound silence with regard to all these utterances? The answer is obvious. They were mild, conservative, conciliatory, containing, in the words of Mr. Lincoln, as found in his message at the extra session of Congress in July, 1861, "repeated pledge against any disturbance to any of the people or any of their rights." It did not, therefore, comport with your object, to allude to them. You had determined to maintain that he and the Republican party were responsible for the agitation of the country, and to justify South Carolina, Georgia, and their compars in their conspiracy, sedition, and treason. To do so, it was necessary for you to indulge in the *suggestio falsi*, and also in the *suppressio veri*. You found no difficulty in doing both. It was done too, not spasmodically, or incidentally, but with the pen of tranquil thought, and the voice of studied malignity. Yours, therefore, was the "deep damning guilt" of deliberate wrong.^a

^aIt is not difficult to conjecture what your reply to all this will be. You will exclaim with an air of triumph, "Is not Mr. Lincoln and his party in favor of coercion.

Having thus basely concealed and perverted the views of the "President elect," and the original aims of "vast masses of the Northern people," you proceeded to state that "the South seems inclined to accept the judgment." "Everywhere in the South the people are beginning to look out for the means of *self-defence*. Could it be expected that they would be *indifferent* to such events as have occurred? That they would be *idle* and *see* measures concerted and carried forward for the annihilation sooner or later of her property in slaves? Such expectations, if indulged, are not reasonable. The law of *self-defence* includes the right of *property* as well as of person; and it appears to me that there must be a time in the *progress* of this conflict, if it be indeed irrepressible,* when slaveholders may *lawfully* fall back on their *natural rights*, and *employ*, in defence of their slave property *whatever means of protection they possess or can command.*"

I cannot dwell on all the points of this extract. What, sir, do you maintain in it? That the people of the South, as rational beings, could not be "idle," or, in other words, inactive or dilatory, as to their "means of self-defence," etc., preparation for their enormous rebellion. That the seizure of our custom houses, arsenals, garrisons, and forts under the administration of the docile and peaceful "traitor of Wheatland" was right? That the transportation of arms and ammunition to the South, the scattering of our troops by Floyd, and his attempts to remove the guns of the arsenal at Pittsburg were right? That the dispersion of our vessels of war, and of our seamen by Toucey, was right!

of the subjugation of those in rebellion against the Government; of the Emancipation Proclamation; of arming the negroes?" etc. It is true that Mr. Lincoln approves of all these things. So does the Republican party. So do large numbers of pure and noble Democrats. With united hearts and voices they declare, in direct antagonism to your views and wishes, that "The Union must be preserved; the rebellion must be put down, and that, in the accomplishment of these ends, all the means should be employed which the civilization of the age or the laws of modern warfare will permit." But this has nothing whatever to do with your misrepresentations of Mr. Lincoln and his friend in Independence square, Philadelphia, in December, 1860. It in no way affects or modifies the sentiments which he then held, and which you garbled and perverted. It was his peace policy which you were considering. His war policy, incipient or ultimate, was not then announced, or the subject of consideration. In fact, he then had none; for war, although threatened, had not been inaugurated. To-day, however, he has a war policy, which you do, which you may assail, but which you cannot impair or overthrow. The best men of the nation sanction it; the worst men of the nation oppose it.

The fallacy and weakness of your opposition may in due time be shown. In the meantime you must remain a "convicted libeller," and exposed calumniator.

* You will observe that I attach no importance to the words, "If it be indeed irrepressible." It is true they are "conditional words, but they are not controlling words. They do not modify or alter the propo-

That the resignation of general and field and line officers was right! That the plunder of our treasury was right! That the violation of the most solemn oaths of fealty to the National Government, by Davis and Breckinridge, and their associates was right! In short, that all of the nefarious acts of the "vilest traitors that ever cursed God's earth" were right! They could not be "indifferent." They could not be "idle." As intelligent creatures they were required to act as they did.

But, sir, upon what did you rest this infamous defence, this monstrous plea? Upon two allegations. First, that the slave property of the South was endangered, and would sooner or later be annihilated by Republican vandalism. But not a word, not an act of that party did you, or could you produce to support your position. It was wholly "a fancy sketch." It was without even the *applausibility* of a dignified conjecture. Let Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, Hon. A. H. Stephens, Vice President of "the Southern Confederacy," and its Commissioners to Great Britain, determine this point. In the South Carolina State Convention, in the latter part of 1860 in discussing her "Declaration of Grievance," Mr. Rhett said: "The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. *It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the fugitive-slave law.* It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years." [Annual Cyclopaedia, 1861, p. 122.] This is brief, but demonstrative. Mr. Stephens, in his speech in the Georgia State Convention, in November, 1860, spoke thus:

S

ition that in defence of her slave property, the South has the right to dismember or destroy the Federal Government. Correctly considered, this is an abstract proposition, resting ultimately on an assumed defensive right of property,* and not on any incidental occurrence, adventitious circumstances, or extraneous physical facts or moral truths.

Moreover, the rule of criticism is this: "In ascertaining the opinion of a speaker or writer, consider all which he says on the same subject, whether in the same connection or otherwise." Doing this there can be no doubt as to your views. For in the progress of your speech you referred to the "several States proposing to 'retire from the Confederacy.'" "South Carolina going out peaceably." These expressions clearly imply that in your judgment the right to retire, to go out peaceably existed.

But if this were otherwise, if the utmost force, "the widest sweep," be given to the words, "If it indeed be irrepressible," they would only make your proposition thus: unless the irrepressible conflict; (i. e.) all opposition, mental as well as moral to the designs and principles of the Southern slaveholders be suppressed in the North, they have a right to overthrow the National Government, or withdraw from it. In this form it carries with it the entire theory of disruption and Secession; and moreover, as will be fully shown in my next letter, requires the Nationalization of Slavery, and the suppression in the North of the liberty of the press and speech.

This is indeed perhaps the most objectionable, the most monstrous form of your proposition.

"Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments. What reasons can you give to your fellow-citizens in the calamity that it will bring upon us? What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it—(secession?) They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case. And to what cause, or one overt act, can you name or point on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim, founded in justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the Government of Washington of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer."

Still more direct, and, if possible, still more cogent, is the letter of the Commissioners to the British Government, dated 14th August, 1851. In it they say:

"It was from no fear that the slaves would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power has proposed to guarantee slavery forever in the States, if the South would but remain in the Union. Mr. Lincoln's Message proposes no freedom to the slave, but announces subjection of his owner to the Union—in other words, to the will of the North. Even after the battle of Bull Run, both branches of the Congress at Washington passed resolutions that the war is only waged in order to uphold that (pro-slavery) Constitution and to enforce the laws, (many of them pro-slavery,) and out of 172 votes in the lower House, they received all but two, and in the Senate all but one.

"WM. L. YANCEY,

"P. S. ROUST,

"A. DUDLEY MANN,

"Southern Commissioners to Europe."
—(Appleton's Encyclopædia, etc.)

How conclusive is this! Superior to you in candor and truthfulness, these representative men "of the South" utterly sweep away the first allegation or ground of your defence of the rebellion. It is ever thus that

— "No falsehood can endure
Touch of truth, but returns
Of force to its own likeness."

But as to your next ground. It was made up of two parts. 1st. You contend that in defence of their "slave property," the South had a right "to fall back on the law of nature. That is, to disintegrate, to dissolve the National Government. It was not simply an act of secession which you justified. It was more; it was revolution; it was destruction. You went even beyond the doctrine of Calhoun. In his letter to Hon. Wm. Smith, ("Extra Billy,") of Virginia, he

says: "The right of revolution can be resorted to rightfully only where government has *failed* in the great object for which it was ordained—the security and happiness of the people; and then only when no other remedy can be applied."—(Cluskey's Political Text Book, p. 720.)

These conditions, important and controlling, as they were in the opinion of "the great nullifier," you omitted, or more properly, rejected. And imitating the most reckless of "the fire-eaters," you "stepped out" on the platform of "an absolute destructionist." It is not, however, the first instance of others than "fools" rushing in where "their masters feared to tread." For prior to 1860 few of even the most turbulent and radical of your faction sustained your theory. Even the artful and ignoble Pierce, in his annual message of January, 1856, in the most direct terms condemns it. He says: "*Our system affords no justification of revolutionary acts;* for the constitutional means of relieving the people of unjust administration and laws, by a change of public agents and repeal, are ample and more prompt and effective than illegal violence," etc.

But while your "silly notion" has been condemned by Pierce, it has called forth the most decided disapproval of America's best and purest statesmen. Douglas has denounced it, Clay has denounced it, Jackson has denounced it. The former, on the 1st of May, 1861, in the "great Wigwam" in Chicago, when on his way to his home, to close his eyes forever on the scenes of earth, cried out to the vast multitude who eagerly listened to his last public address, "*We cannot recognize Secession.* Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved Government, but you have destroyed social order, and upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French revolution. Then we have a *solemn duty*—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity, the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all animosities and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. *When we shall have a country again with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us.*"—(Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, p. 299.)

Clay, in his great speech on the Compromise resolutions, in February, 1850, thus spoke: "And, sir, I must take occasion here to say that, in my opinion, there is no right on the part of any one or more of the States to secede from the Union. War and

dissolution of the Union are identical and inevitable, in my opinion. There can be a dissolution of the Union only by consent or by war. Consent, no one can anticipate from any existing state of things, is likely to be given, and war is the only alternative by which a dissolution could be accomplished.

* * * Sir, I have said that I thought there was no right on the part of one or more States to secede from the Union. I think so. The Constitution of the United States was made not merely for the generation that then existed, but for posterity—unlimited, undefined, endless, perpetual posterity. And every State that then came into the Union, and every State that has since come into the Union, came into it binding itself, by indissoluble bands, to remain within the Union itself, and to remain within it by its posterity forever. Like another of the sacred connections, in private life, it is a marriage which no human authority can dissolve or divorce the parties from.”—(Colton’s Last Years of Henry Clay, pp. 343, 344.)

Jackson, in his message on the South Carolina proceedings in 1833, says: “The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the General Government is constituted and to the objects which it is expressly formed to attain.”

To these “masterly opinions” might be added those of Madison, Benton, Webster, and others no less illustrious. But this is unnecessary. It is sufficiently shown that, while the second ground of your vindication of the rebellion “appears” clear to you, it has been refuted and denounced by the purest and best statesmen of America. Do not misunderstand me. I do not expect *you* to be in the least influenced by the views of men who belonged to the “higher regions of polities.” But others may be—others will be. And with the result I will be fully satisfied. But you did not stop with simply maintaining the right of secession, or of revolution on the part of “the slaveholders in” defence of “their slave property.” You dared to go further. You affirmed that this alleged “right” might be vindicated or supported, not merely according to the laws of war—the established rules of civilization—but by “whatever means they (the South) possess or can command.”

What, sir, could surpass this in atrocity? Let us look at it. You are a jurist. You are, or should have been, well read in the *jus gentium*—the law of nations. Of at least its elementary principles you cannot be presumed to have been ignorant. You knew

that it required parties engaged in either foreign or domestic wars to “do as little harm” as comported “with their real interests.” And yet discarding this well-established rule—attempting to put back the benevolent march of the centuries—you dragged up “the violent maxims and practices of the ancients and usages of the Gothic ages,” and proclaimed in the noon of the nineteenth century, in the centre of civilization, that the rebels of America, in the execution of their nefarious designs, might properly employ any means within their power; or, in malignity demand, treachery supply, frauds secure, desires solicit, or exigencies require. Thus sustained and emboldened, what have they not done? They have revelled in falsehoods and perjuries. Thousands of the noblest and purest of earth’s heroes have they maimed and slaughtered. Virtue, in its purest forms, and innocence in its most lovely garbs, have they insulted and jibed. Age, with its feeble steps and dim eyes have they crowded to their dungeons, and loaded with their fetters.

In fine, they have acted as if “war was a dissolution of all moral ties, and a license for every kind of disorder and intemperance.” For all this, to no small extent, you are responsible. If not wholly the result of your teachings, it was entirely in harmony with them. And, therefore, from every battlefield where the defenders of the “stars and stripes” have fallen—from every fireside which has been agonized and desolated—from the caves, and mountains, and gorges of Tennessee, where oppressed loyalty has fled, and suffered, and died—from the dungeons of Virginia—from the pale cheeks of disease—from the gaunt forms of starvation—from smoking towns—from sacked cities—from blasted fields—from manhood in its sternness and sacrifices—from woman’s tears and sobs, and from childhood’s wails and infancy’s plaintive moans, there come voices of cursing and of censure upon your infamous conduct and sentiments.

Nor can they be hushed. There is a poetic justice in the world. There is an avenging Nemesis on the earth. In the words of Carlyle, “the unjust thing has no friends in the heavens, and a majority against it on the earth,” and that majority may be the avenging Deity which will meet you on the second Tuesday of October, at the ballot-boxes in Pennsylvania, and hurl you to merited obscurity and the “gnawing feast” of disappointed ambition.

It cannot be that the people of Pennsylvania will elevate George W. Woodward, the champion of wrong, the vindicator of rebellion, the sympathizer with the South, to the Gubernatorial chair!

Yours, &c.,
WESTMORELAND.

THE TRUE VIEWS OF HON. G. W. WOODWARD

ON SECESSION, ETC., STATED. HE CONSIDERS THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TOO WEAK, AND DESIRES IT STRENGTHENED. HE WISHES THE CONSTITUTION AMENDED SO THAT IT SHALL SANCTION SLAVERY; AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS AND SPEECH PUT DOWN IN THE NORTH.

HON. GEO. W. WOODWARD:

Sir: The ides of October approach. It is important that I make good my promise to "come back" to your read speech, and examine more of its unpatriotic utterances and purposes.

In view of the time which has elapsed since the publication of my previous letter, it may be well to refer briefly to what was shown in it.

These particulars were established, viz.: 1st. That you marred the harmony and grandeur of the Great Union Demonstration of December 13th, 1860, by presenting yourself at it, in the garb and with the declamation and platitudes of a mere partisan. 2d. That designedly, and with *malice prepense*, you misrepresented the views and objects of the "President elect," and of the Republican party. 3d. That you maintained that because of the discussion or agitation in the North of the subject of Africo-American Slavery, the States where it existed or their people, could not rationally do otherwise than prepare to defend "the institution," and to overthrow the Federal Government. And 4th. That you contended in opposition to the wisest and purest of our statesmen, not only that the slaveholders had an absolute or perfect right to effect this overthrow or disintegration, and that in attempting it, they might use without restraint, whatever means they possessed or could control.

Now, sir, it may well be inquired, whether you did not in some *important* mode, qualify this last and most atrocious, proposition? Astounding as it may be, the answer must be in the negative. It is true, you declared that you did not agree with the South, that the time had arrived when "the right which you asserted and vindicated," should be put into full and unlimited operation; but this did not in any manner effect "the right itself." It neither modified nor retracted what you had assumed concerning it. Except as regards the mere incident of

time it left it intact. And it has been correctly observed by one of Europe's ablest writers on morals and metaphysics, "that he who clears a dangerous and alarming theory with it, but the mere contingency of days or months, is justly responsible for its results "however frightful or repulsive they may be."

All the guilt, all the ignominy, all the consequences of your postulate of National secession or disruption must therefore adhere to you. By no chicaney, by no contortions, by no efforts can you evade them. In vain will you vociferate with Lady Macbeth, "Out, damned spot, out, I say."

Trusting that this fact will not soon be forgotten, I hasten to notice the "remedy" which you offered for the threatened disruption of the nation, or the plan which you brought forward for the purpose of retaining within "the Confederacy," the several States which in harmony with your views, you mildly stated, "proposed to retire" from it.

And what was your remedy or plan? That which the organic law of the Nation had provided? Far from it; "Punishment of treason, and misprison of treason," you did not invoke. In no manner did you even allude to it.* Claiming to be "a strict constructionist," prominently connected with a party which has been vociferous and vehement in its professions of respect and attachment for "the letter" of the Federal Constitution; you utterly disregarded the means

* The plan of the Framers of the Constitution was obviously this. All violent attempts to overthrow the Government, or to withdraw from it, should be met and overruled by force, by physical resistance, or material agencies. Objects discovered in its operations should be remedied by peaceful amendments—through the workings of the heart and mind. The idea that treason should be responded to by "courtly etiquette," etc., was never entertained for a moment by Washington, Jefferson, Madison and their associates. It originated with this age, and is fostered exclusively by a faction which has degraded and prostituted the venerated term, "Democracy."

which its framers had adopted to arrest all violent attempts to destroy the Government. Nor is this all. In direct violation of both the words and spirit of that Constitution and the corresponding enactment of 1789, approved by Washington, you said, let South Carolina, and of consequence, all the States which might desire to follow her example, "Go out of the Union peaceably if at all."

In your opinion, it was *right* for these States to assail the Nation with unrestrained violence, but *wrong* for her to employ physical force and material agencies to repel the ferocious assault and to maintain unimpaired "the unity which has made us one people."

Thus, rejecting as you did, all "coercive measures," what did you propose in lieu thereof? Let the following citations from your speech respond or determine.

"Under the *amendatory* clause of the Constitution, Congress is bound to call a general convention, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States. Our Legislature will assemble next month. Let us petition them to demand the Convention. Good examples like bad ones, are contagious. Perhaps one and another of the Northern and Southern States may do the like, until the requisite number have concurred, and then we will have a National Convention to consider the evils and dangers of the day, and to devise remedies which, it may be hoped, shall prove as salutary as those of 1787. Have I not a right to say that a Government which was all-sufficient for the country fifty years ago, is insufficient to-day, when every upstart politician can stir the people to mutiny against the domestic institutions of our Southern brethren, when the ribald jests of seditious editors can sway Legislatures and popular votes.

The Constitution, which is strong enough to govern such men, is too weak to restrain us who have out-grown the grave and moderate wisdom that excited no irrepressible conflict between brethren, but taught them to dwell in unity. I would make it strong enough to restrain the madness of our day."

"We must arouse ourselves and reassert the rights of the slaveholder, and add such guarantees to the Constitution as will protect his property from the spoilation of religious bigotry and persecution, or else we must give up our Constitution and Union."

These are plain, they admit of no misunderstanding. They disclosed your "remedy" to be the amendment or alteration of the Federal Constitution, agreeable to the desires, objects and demands of the Southern Slaveholders.

This, in fact, you distinctly declared was the "alternative" for "a dissolution of the Union." Acting upon this fallacious assumption you suggested two "amendments."

These should be fully examined, for they are not trivial, not insignificant, but important and radical.

The first contemplated the suppression of the discussion of Slavery in the free States; a positive restraint of what you styled "the madness of our day," "the ribald jests of editors," "scurrilous libels" of campaign documents, and mutinous words of upstart politicians," etc.

In this however there was nothing profound. It had not even the attraction of novelty.

The "most ignoble of mankind," James Buchanan, in November, 1850, in response to an invitation to attend a meeting in Philadelphia, said: "Agitation in the North on the subject of Southern Slavery, must be rebuked and put down,"

(Horton's Life of Buchanan, p. 377.)

This is precisely what in less terse and direct terms you advocated. For only in the "free States," in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Oregon, and California, did you urge that the discussion should cease. Above Mason and Dixon's line, you were anxious to terminate all "agitation" of the subject of Slavery; to seal, as respects it, every lip with the stillness of death; and to palsy every pen—no matter how profound the reasoning, or benevolent the utterances, or polished and courteous the words used might be. But below that line, you were willing, eager, that "agitation" should prevail, without any limitations of time, place, or manner; that the alleged benefits and advantages of the peculiar institution should be freely debated, and be supported by "ribald jests," by coarse and rancorous invective, by perverted facts, by misquoted history, by sophistical argumentation, by the sciolism of a weak philosophy, by the sanctities and unwarranted teachings of the pulpit, by the prostituted eloquence of statesmen, by the ferocity of ruffianism and the cruelties and brutalities of mobs. Because none of these, rampant and prevalent as they had been in the South, did you condemn.

Standing up, therefore, in "Independence Square," in the month of December, 1860, you proclaimed in studied phrases, that "Article 1st of the addition to the Constitution of the United States of America should be amended so as to allow Congress to abridge the freedom of speech and of the press, as regards the millions of the citizens of the free States; or to be more specific, so that it should read, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or the press,'

except as regards the subject of involuntary Slavery, which shall not in any mode, or under any circumstances, be discussed in the non-slaveholding States, under such penalties as Congress may provide; 'or the right of the people to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances,' on all other but the said excepted subject of Slavery." The penalties which you wished annexed to this astounding amendment by Congress for the purpose of its enforcement you did not see fit to name. But inasmuch as it is clearly established that none inferior to personal violence, or exile, or imprisonment, or death,* would satisfy the owners of human chattels, it is to be fairly inferred that at the opportune moment you would lift up your lofty form and utter "eloquent tones" in advocacy of these. And instead of regarding them as "cruel," you would sustain them as abstract rights of the South, in relation to which they could not be expected to be indifferent, and which it would be unjust to withhold from them, Because what Virgil long since sang continues true:

"Facili descensus Averni;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere auras
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

And yet, sir, in view of all this, notwithstanding your bold and shameless advocacy of the destruction of the inalienable right of "liberty of thought, speech, and the press," you and your party, the very Convention which, on the 17th of June ult., nominated you as a candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, had the almost unparalleled effrontery, the unrivaled inconsistency to "resolve and declare" about a "free press," and against what it termed the great crime of the arrest and deportation of Clement L. Vallandigham, a man who boldly declared his sympathy was with the South,† who developed the truthfulness of his declaration by his persistent hostility in words and actions to the National Government, and concerning whom *et id omne genus* the gallant Major General Burnside said: "They must not use license, and plead that they are exercising liberty."

* "SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this territory, or shall introduce into this territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."—(Statutes of Kansas Territory, p. 717.) "Let an Abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him we will try him."—(Senator Hammond.)

† See a pamphlet entitled "The Peace Democracy *alias* Copperheads. Their Record," etc. This was prepared with great care, is in all respects liable, and presents in a condensed form a mass of important facts and information.

And here let it be particularly observed that the distinction made by General Burnside constitutes the true difference between you and the Administration.

It has only endeavored to arrest "an abuse of a right—an intemperate, licentious, seditious, and riotous disputation" of its necessary policy and measures—a mode of debate which is condemned by Story, Kent, and all the great luminaries of the American as well as English law; while you have "struck" at the right itself, aimed to sectionalize it, and to prevent "the men of the North and the West" from examining and considering the great subject of human liberty,—one which has engaged the closest attention, commanded the severest studies, called forth the purest argumentation, produced the loftiest oratory, and exhibited to the world the most sacred and invincible heroism of the centuries.

But without adding more relative to your first amendment, I will glance at your "second."

It was in harmony with the first—an exact and philosophical counterpart.

That was designed to be prohibitory of an assumed wrong, this, protective of an asserted right.

Accordingly you insisted that Slavery should receive direct constitutional sanction, and be upheld by positive defensive provisions.

Exactly what you conceived these should be, you artfully refrained from specifically indicating. Yet it is not difficult to determine what were your views in relation to them, because you were prepared, to use your own words, "to set the North right" with regard to "the peculiar institution," and to invest it with whatever protection those immediately connected with it might deem expedient or necessary.

Hence, in order to find out the particulars which lay unuttered or quiescent, in your generalization, it will only be necessary to ascertain what "guarantees" the South required; and this can be at once done by producing a resolution offered by Jeff. Davis on the 29th of December, 1860, in the Senate of the United States.

It was in these words, viz: "*Resolved*, That it shall be declared, by amendment of the Constitution, that property in slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing, in all constitutional and federal relations, as any other species of property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto, or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein; and in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative

act of the United States, or of any of the territories thereof."—(*Congressional Globe*, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., Part I, p. 190.)

Fairly analyzed, what did this resolution present as "the entire affirmative claim of the South?" Manifestly these things:

1. That the Federal Government should determine and maintain that mankind could be the subject of the most absolute ownership; or in the words of Blackstone, "of that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the rights of any other individual in the universe." That in this respect it should proclaim that there is no difference between negroes, mulattoes, quadroons, and brunettes, and hogs, mules, horses, and oxen!

2. That as a corollary of this national determination, and for the purpose of rendering it effectual, Congress should be inhibited from passing any enactments hostile to "this ownership of slaves," and the Executive and Judicial Departments of the General Government should be required to support all claims and desires based on such ownership.

3. That all legislation, and whenever requisite all judicial decisions of the Northern, Middle, and Western States, should be in harmony with this "property theory," and that as a consequence slaveholders should be allowed not only "the right of transit," with their slaves, through these States, but also that of "sojourn" *ad libitum*, or without any limitation as to time and manner.

4. That the territories of the United States should be open to the indefinite extension of slavery, and that hence no action or legislation hostile to it, should be allowed on the part of the inhabitants thereof; but that on the contrary it should in all respects "be held and defended as other property."

Such, then, were the "amendments" demanded by Jeff. Davis as the representative of the South, and such were the "guarantees" which you insisted must be "added" to the Constitution.

Additions more fundamental, changes more infamous and more directly in antagonism with the views of "the founders of the Republic" could not well have been suggested.

Madison, sir, "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man."

You, on the contrary considered it wrong that this "idea" in its fullest extent, should be withheld from it.

You insisted that "the peculiar institutions," with all of its impious claims, its monstrous assumptions, its atrocious pretensions, and barbarous principles customs and practices, should be "promptly" enshrined, as an idolized and supreme deity, in the temple of our liberties.

And to accomplish this nefarious and odious purpose, it appears you were willing and prepared to increase the power of the General Government "to strengthen it, explicitly affirming, that while it "was all sufficient for the country fifty years ago, "it is insufficient to-day."

But I must not dwell longer on the nature and effects of your proposed alterations or "amendments." In these respects they have been sufficiently exposed.

There is, however, an aspect in which they should be further considered; or rather glanced at. It is this: The facts that you suggested these amendments, that you advocated them, and that in order to give them a vigorous operation you urged that the functions of the General Government should be increased, establish conclusively the arrant hypocrisy of the protestations made in your speech "of devotion to the Union as it is," the flagrant inconsistency of the cognate cry of your followers, "The Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was," and the deceptiveness and baseness of their fervid declamation in relation to "the centralization of power in the hands of the Federal Government, its alleged absorption of State rights, rights, etc.

The poet Dante, sir, feigns that upon the archway of pandemonium is inscribed, "Leave hope behind." It would seem, sir, that upon the archway of your political sanctum, and of that of the organization which nominated and supports you is inscribed, "Drop conscience, truth, and consistency at

Upon concluding this letter, I have seen yours of the 21st inst., to Rufus E. Sharpe, Esq. The facts which I have presented above, completely refute the assertion that your life has been spent thus far in upholding the Constitution of the United States as our Fathers framed it, the Union they formed, etc. In view of your explicit declaration that the Constitution, which was strong enough for the fathers was too weak for us—or of your distinct advocacy of a convention to amend the Federal Constitution, and increase the powers of the General Government, etc., this assertion is indeed extraordinary!

It exhibits a degree of moral depravity—a recklessness with regard to truth—which goes far to establish your unfitness for the position to which you aspire. A new and cogent reason is thus furnished for your defeat at the ballot boxes in October.

The assertion that, "so far from ever avowing belief in Secession, or favoring recognition of the Southern Confederacy, you are, and always have been, opposed to both, and in favor of suppressing the rebellion by which both are supported," has been fully answered in my previous letter. As will appear by reference to that letter, your statement is utterly false.

Be not deluded. It is too late, sir, for you to attempt to establish "a reputation for loyalty." Prevarication, however artful or deliberate, will be useless. It will only augment your ultimate ignominy, and convince the world at large that "it is a fearful thing to become the defiant idolater of wrong; because in due time the exactions of the enthroned Deity will impel its worshipper to the most odious crimes, and involve him in inevitable yet merited punishment." Let me beseech you, then, to be a man if you cannot be a Governor. It is terrible to sacrifice all which is left of the one in order to attain the other. Consideration of these truths will be of no little profit to you.

the entrance." At least this has been done. What good, what honest man—what true, what earnest patriot can support you? Time, in its onward march, will soon respond to the inquiry. I trust, sir, it will be a response which will leave you in the merited seclusion of private life. Yours, &c.,

WESTMORELAND.

SEPT. 16, 1863.



THE GROUNDS UPON WHICH HIS THEORY OF SECESSION RESTS EXAMINED. THE MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE NORTH AS RESPECTS HER ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, ETC., EXPOSED. HIS ABUSE OF NORTHERN CLERGYMEN AND CHURCHES CORRECTED. HIS ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF SLAVERY REFUTED, AND HIS ADVOCACY OF WHITE SLAVERY ESTABLISHED.

HON. GEORGE W. WOODWARD.

SIR:—

Up to this date I have established two general propositions. First, that you advocated in your speech of December, 1860, the right of the South to dismember or destroy the Federal Union—to separate herself from it, and to form an independent Government; and, second, that you maintained that, in order to suspend or restrain the full exercise of this right, it was indispensable that the National Constitution should be amended or changed so that it would directly sanction and uphold the institution of slavery, and suppress all discussion respecting it in the free States.

It was to be expected that you would at least have attempted to support positions so radical—so infamous—as these, by a rare accumulation of facts, and an unrivalled cogency of argumentation. But instead of these, what did you present to your hearers? Misrepresentations of the motives and acts of the "Fathers of the Republic," in the free States in the abolition of slavery—visionary speculations as to the value of cotton—traduction of Northern churches and preachers, and, finally, a puerile and sophistical defence of slavery in the United States, in which you "came out" in favor of slavery without regard to races or color. Each of these in their order may be considered not *in extenso*, but succinctly as possible.

Let me proceed accordingly.

(1.) As to the first. That you should misstate the facts of history as regards the abolition of slavery in the free States, and vilify the noble and pure men of the first age of our Government, is not surprising. This is,

indeed, one of the strongest proclivities—one of the most confirmed habits of your "school of politics." But you rashly ventured beyond most of your associates when you allowed the following statement to glide from your pen, and drop from your lips, viz: "The Northern States abolished their slavery, and so gratified their innate love of freedom; but they did it gradually, and so did not wound their love of gain. They sold out slavery a full equivalent, not only in the price paid down, but in the manufacturing and commercial prosperity which grew up from the productions of slave labor." Considered in reference to either or all of the States involved, this statement is utterly devoid of truth. Its chief particulars may be examined.

(a.) And as respects the allegation that the North abolished slavery "from love of gain," Pennsylvania may be regarded as a representative of the other States. Did she "wipe out" slavery "from love of gain"—prompted by the demands of avarice? Was this the motive that inspired and controlled her noble, pure, and revered legislators of 1780?

Fortunately, like the "worthies" of the roll call of the pupil of Gamaliel, "though dead they speak" in the preamble of the Act of 1st of March of that year.

In it, after affirming gratitude to God for deliverance from "that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us," &c., they say: "Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty—and we rejoice that it is in our power—to extend a portion of that freedom to others which hath been extended to us, and release from that state of thralldom to which we ourselves were tyrannically deemed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find," &c., "We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing as much as possible the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weared by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partisanship we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence toward men of all conditions and na-

tions; and we conceive ourselves at this particular moment extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude."

SEC. 2. "And whereas the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated negro and mulatto slaves has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessings that they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other and from their children, an injury, the greatness of which can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case. In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them whereon they may rest their sorrows and their hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render their services to society, which they otherwise might, and also in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain,—Be it enacted, etc.—(1 Smith's Laws, 193.)

Now, in these words there is an utter absence of any evidence of the sordid motive which you attributed to them.

Instead of being governed by the "master passion" of gain, it appears that they were controlled by the purest emotions and principles of philanthropy—"of kindness and benevolence, of justice and duty." "High," then, and "lifted up" above your low and vile conceptions and aspersions, were the men of 1780; and who can doubt that if to-day their rayless eyes could flash and their wasted tongues articulate, they would flash upon you the withering gaze of scorn, and articulate "into your ears" the tones of deep and burning indignation.

Severe, indeed, should be the execration that should fall upon you because of your deliberate misrepresentation of their motives!

(b.) But as regards the next particular; the asseveration that the North received "an equivalent," a price in hand "for her liberated slaves." This was as false and base as the other particular. Prepared as you were to "traduce the clime of your birth," you did not, because you could not, name one of all the Northern States which received a *quid pro quo*, a price for her slaves.

As a complete refutation of this assertion, I will quote from "The Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census." On page 10 of that report Mr. Keanedy, an appointee of a "Democratic Administration," and, until after the inauguration of the rebellion, a

correspondent of Jacob Thompson, a former Secretary of the Interior, but at the date of the correspondence a prominent rebel, says:—

"It may not be out of place to state that the American States, which in the past century abolished slavery, permitted the free colored population to enjoy every right consistent with their condition as a class, and allowed bond and free to remain during their natural lives in the State or colony where they lived. This fact, although sometimes questioned, can be demonstrated beyond cavil; and the contrary can only be urged by such as are *unfamiliar with the subject or have an object in the misrepresentation*. The plan of gradual emancipation probably tended to this result, as those who were living in bondage continued to be slaves, while their descendants were generally to become free at such period as they were qualified to maintain their own existence by labor.

"An examination of the relative number at different successive periods, until slavery became extinct, must lead to conclusions that no material deportation of slaves occurred shortly before or after the passage of emancipation acts—a fact which cannot be controverted; and while it must be conceded that the Northern people prosecuted the slave trade at an early period with energy and thrift, they are entitled to the award of sincerity and honesty in giving the earliest examples of the abolition of the institution of slavery within their own borders."

This is clear. It convicts you of an egregious and malignant falsehood. "The slaves of the North were not handed over to the South." Disseminated by "ignorance on stilts," this falsehood would have been pardonable. But coming from your lips—a judge, a grave and imperious expounder of civil laws—a bold and restless aspirant for the occupancy of the Executive Chamber at Harrisburg, it admits of no excuse or palliation. None can be conceived—none suggested.

(2.) But leaving this point, I must next refer to your statements as to the value and importance of cotton.

There will be found to yield as little support to your propositions as your prevarications concerning the motives and conduct of the Northern States in "doing away with slavery."

The most material parts of them will be found in this extract: "Cotton, the product of slave labor, has been one of the indispensable elements of all this our prosperity. More it must be an indispensable element of all our future prosperity. I say it must be. The world cannot and will not live without cot-

ton. There is not a matron in all the Union that can clothe her family or herself without it. Nor can England do without our cotton; her mills and ours would rot; her operatives and our operatives would starve if the negroes did not raise cotton.

This is "a glowing picture," in fact, poetical; but at the same time wild and morbid exaggeration.

Cotton is valuable. In connection with the saw—gin—the invention of Mr. Whitney, a native of "the land of brains"—Massachusetts—it is a product of great importance.

But it is not an "indispensable element" of National prosperity.

It is far less so than the grains of the West and the coals and iron of the Keystone State. The brightest and most sublime pages of history contain no trace of cotton.

The reformation under Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingle, Calvin, "the revival of learning" the establishment of the true doctrines of the rights of men, all occurred prior to the era of cotton.

The Barons at Runnymede, in their contest with King John for the privileges of Magna Charta, derived no inspiration from it.

Our imperishable Declaration of Independence was in no respect created by it; nor is the perpetuity of its great truths in any degree dependent upon it.

The deeds of valor performed by our Revolutionary Fathers' their pure morals and exalted principles, all preceded the cultivation of cotton in the country. It was but little known to them except as a garden plant until their heroic struggle had terminated. The mothers of that period clothed themselves without even the "Jenny of Hargrave or the drawing roller and revolving spindle of Arkwright;" and if "any matron" of the Union could not now do so, it is because like you, she is a degenerate descendant of a "noble ancestry."

But they do not thus resemble you. They can be clad, if necessary, without cotton—and be the mothers of heroes, the trainers of saints, and the educators of minds—and live and act in all the purity, dignity, and power of their sex, if the "mildew of God's wrath" should rest on all the cotton-fields of the Confederacy. And if touched by the Goddess of Liberty, the chains of every slave should fall off, and they should joyously inhale the atmosphere of freedom, or if every negro in all the South should ultimately "lay down the shovel and the hoe," our mills "need not, would not rot"—our operatives would not starve. England would not disappear from the map of the earth. For it has long since been demonstrated that *free or paid labor* is supe-

rior to coerced and unrewarded toil; and not a few intellects superior to yours believe that white labor is superior to colored labor; and if so, cotton will continue to be a product of commerce and of manufacture, and of use, if Anglo-Saxons alone existed to cultivate it. But if not—as the world lived long without it, evolved its heroic and golden ages without it—it could, and, if requisite, would do so hereafter.

Sir, it is a monstrous error, a huge blunder to affirm that cotton is an "*indispensable element of our prosperity*," and that the very existence of a large number of proud, cultivated, industrious Caucasians of America is dependent upon the bone and sinew of Africa's despised sable "sons and daughters!"

"*Cotton is not King.*" "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof: "Despite the teachings of a material philosophy, and the sceptical and flimsy utterances of base partisans, 'God is King,' and He exercises his supremacy through the power of truth, right, and justice, and therefore these must and will prevail."

But I must not enlarge here. It has been well said "that evil always assails good," and that "black wounding calumny loves a shining mark;" and hence, after failing to sustain your dogmas and schemes by the perversion of historical facts and vapid declamation relative to cotton, you indulged in unrestrained denunciation of "preachers and churches."

This you did by an inquiry, and by a broad affirmation. The inquiry was in these words, "What does that editor, or *preacher* know of the Union, and of the men who made it, who *habitually reviles and misrepresents* the Southern people, and *excites the ignorant* and the *thoughtless* in our midst to *hate and persecute* them?" The affirmation was this: "according to some *ecclesiastical councils*, it would seem that the great duty of the *American christian* is to war with his neighbor's property; and, if opportunity presents, to help steal and hide it!"

These, you may have regarded as potential and pungent, "sturdy blows in support of your base work." But neither of them rise above low and common ribaldry. Of the thousands of preachers in the North, you did not point out one who was guilty of "bearing false witness against the Southern people," or of inflaming the ignorant and inconsiderate with emotions of rancour against them, or of stirring them up to "persecute them."

Nor did you designate any "ecclesiastical council" which had directly or indirectly,

taught that its adherents should assail their neighbor's property, or violate the injunction of "the great head of the church," "*Thou shalt not steal.*"

I go further. I affirm that you did not possess the information requisite to enable you to do so—that you are not in possession of it now, and that you never will be!

Harmless then—powerless as the mutterings of delirium, is your unsupported detraction of a class of men "who have been recognized by even our most eminent jurists, as among the most valuable members of civil society, not only in consequence of the purity of their lives, but also because of the salutary effects of their exalted, holy teachings."

And with a peculiar propriety they can repel your fabrications by these expressive words:

*"If we are
Tranduced by ignorant tongues—which neither knew
Our faculties nor person, yet will be
The chronicles of our doing—let us say,
'Tis but the fate of Place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through."*

I come at length to your final effort to sustain your infamous assumptions.

In this you passed from material to moral considerations, and after no small amount of evasion, and evolutions, you presented an argument consisting of two parts in defence of "the peculiar institution," or of slavery in the United States.

The first part was within the class of reasoning denominated "negative," the second was positive or direct.

In the former you contended that "the negro slavery of America was not sinful, because *no lex scripta*," plainly written, could be produced against it.

How supremely ridiculous is this! Let me call your attention to a few relevant facts with which if, you are not, you should be familiar. America is not named in the Old or New Testament. It was not discovered until about fifteen centuries after these books were closed, and not until about two centuries subsequent to the discovery was slavery introduced into the Western Continent.

And yet you ask for a direct, explicit condemnation of it in the Bible! For an express and positive law against an institution, or a specific status of society which had no existence when the Bible was written.

Truly, sir,
Puturunt montes, masicetur ridens nubes.

But your demand, absurd as it was, shall not be entirely useless. Aside from the fact, that it evinced how imperfectly you understood "God's mode of communicating his will to man," or "the plan of the Holy Scriptures," it affords a proper occasion to impart

to you correct information, or to enlighten your ignorance on this important subject. And this can be best and most authoritatively done by quoting the words of eminent divines and moralists. Conspicuous among them is the distinguished Archbishop Whately, who says in his Essays, vol. 2, p. 263, London, 1833: "It was no part of the scheme of the Gospel Revelation to lay down any thing approaching to a complete system of *moral precepts*, to enumerate everything that is enjoined or forbidden by our religion, nor again to give a *detailed* general description of Christian duty, or to *delineate*, after the manner of systematic ethical writers, *each separate habit of virtue or vice*. New and higher motives were implanted, a more exalted and perfect example was proposed for invitation, a loftier standard of morality was established and the Christian is left to apply for himself in each case, the principles of the Gospel."

Perfectly in harmony with this are the views of the scarcely less distinguished Francis Wayland. He says:

"I think it must appear obvious to every reflecting mind, that *this* is the only method in which a universal revelation, which should possess any moral stringency, could have given, for all coming time." * * *

A simple precept, or prohibition, is of all things the easiest to be evaded. Lord Eldon used to say, "that no man in England could construct an act of Parliament through which he could not drive a coach and four." Besides, suppose the New Testament had been intended to give us a system of precepts, there were but two courses which could have been adopted. The first would have been to forbid merely every wrong practice of *that particular time*; the second to go forward into futurity and forbid every wrong practice that could ever afterwards arise. If the first mode had been adopted, every wrong practice that might in after ages arise would have been unprovided for, and of course unforbidden. If the second had been adopted, the New Testament would have formed a library in itself more voluminous than the laws of the realm of Great Britain. Both of these courses would have been manifestly absurd.

The only remaining scheme that could be devised, is to present the *great principles* of moral duty, to reveal the great moral facts on which all duty must rest, the unchangeable relations in which moral creatures stand to each other and to God, and without any precept in each particular case, to leave the course of conduct to be determined by the conscience of every individual acting in the presence of the All-seeing Deity.

(Letter to Rev. Richard Fuller, pp. 96—97.)

Now it has been chiefly by the application of these "great principles,"* etc., that those whom you denominate Abolitionists—the opponents of Southern slavery, have maintained that it was *specifically* condemned.

And in this, notwithstanding your assertions to the contrary, they have been sustained by the great body of "divines really wise and good in our midst," as well as the most accredited commentators.

Not to go beyond the limits of Pennsylvania, nor far from the spot where your speech was read it will be sufficient to mention Barnes, Newton, Brooks, Moore, Boardman, Adams, Cooper, Eddy, Hutton, Morris, Coombs, and Bishop Potter.

The former of these has published "An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery." 8 mo. pp. 384. Perry & McMillan, Philadelphia, in which the entire system of slavery is shown to be in conflict with the letter, spirit, and principles of "God's word;" and with him, as appears from various sermons and essays, all the others agree. If you had refuted the published views of these eminent divines and scholars, there would have been some propriety in your calling for proof of the sinfulness of slavery; but when this had not been done, nor even fairly attempted, your demand was only the "trick of the dishonest controversialist and of the bad politician."

But I will not amplify here. The second part of your argument was positive. You thus exhibited it: "Whoever will study the Patriarchal and Levitical institutions will see the principle of human bondage and of property in man, divinely sanctioned, if not divinely ordained and in all the sayings of our Saviour we hear no injunction for the suppression of a slavery which existed under his

*See, also, Neander's Church History, vol. I. Beatrice's Elements of Knapp's Theology, etc.

"Among these principles are the unity of the human race—the common duties and destiny of men, etc. If it had been the design to adduce specific passages of Scripture against slavery it would not have been difficult. They are numerous, e. g., Genesis 1, 26, 29, Exodus xxi, 16, Deut. xxiii, 15, Romans xvii, 26, Col. iv, 1, 1 Tim., 9, 10. The truth is, the Hebrew language had no single word to denote a slave. It had but one word—*ebel* or *abed* to express all the relations of servitude. *Abud*, the verb, means to labor to work. The noun *abed* means a *laborer*, a servant—not a slave. The same is true of the Greek *doulos*, a servant, and *dulou*, to serve. They denote any sort of *service* or *servant*. The Greek for slave is *andrapoden*; but it is not used in the New Testament in the passages which the advocates of slavery, including Bishop Hopkins, are accustomed to quote and to rely upon. So that the more critically the Scriptures are examined, the more unsupported does the assumption appear that they sanction slavery, or the idea of property in man.

eyes, while he delivered many maxims and principles, which, like the golden rule, enter right into and regulate the relation. So do the writings of Paul abound with the regulations of the relation, but not with injunctions for its suppression. If we go to the most accredited commentators, or consult divines really wise and good in our midst, or, what is better, study and search the Scriptures for ourselves, we shall fail to find a law which, fairly interpreted and applied, justifies any man in asserting, in or out of the pulpit, that the negro slavery of the United States is sinful."

It will at once be seen that this is what is styled "analogical argumentation," and as Hedge says in his "Logic," p. 83, "it is an unsafe ground of reasoning,—and its conclusions should seldom be received without some degree of distrust." Its force as is remarked by Mills, depends upon the closeness and number of the points of resemblance, and to give it any strength *these* should be exact, and if possible numerous; but as you pointed out "no particulars of similarity" between Patriarchal and Levitical" servitude, Roman slavery, and African bondage in the United States, your conclusions are necessarily illogical and unsatisfactory—*vox et preterea nihil.*"

But I am not done with your positive argument. I must present it in its most serious aspect.

And what was it? Surprising as it may seem, it is this:

Not that slavery in the United States—not that negro slavery is sanctioned by God; but human bondage without regard to time, localities, races, or colors.

Let no one, for a moment, be rash enough to dispute the correctness of this statement. For here are your words: "Whoever will study the Patriarchal and Levitical institutions will see the principle of HUMAN BONDAGE AND OF PROPERTY IN MAN DIVINELY SANCTIONED IF NOT DIVINELY ORDAINED.

That the force, or character and tendency of this position may be more fully exhibited. I will produce the candid and perspicuous statement of it contained in "Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society, by George Fitzhugh, Richmond, Va., 1851," and which has been repeatedly endorsed by "the leading prints" of the South. On pp. 94—95 he says:

"We deem this peculiar question of *negro slavery* of *very little importance*. The issue is made throughout the world on the general subject of *slavery in the abstract*."

"Ham, a son of Noah, was condemned to slavery, and his posterity after him. We do

not adopt the theory that he was the ancestor of the negro race. *The Jewish slaves were not negroes, and to confine the justification of slavery to that race would be to weaken its scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of profane authority, for we read of no negro slavery in ancient times.*"

And he subsequently adds, p. 225, "*Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary.*"

This, then, is the culmination of your argument, as respects the servitude of the Old Testament.

Nor can its result be different, [conceded in connection with the slavery prevalent in the ages of Christ and His Apostles.

For, as Dr. E. Thomson observes,* "that Slavery was also chiefly of whites, not of blacks." The same fact is presented in the "New American Cyclopedia, article Slavery," in Blair on Slavery, and other works.

It is, indeed, an historical truth, which no scholar will for a moment contradict. And hence the defence of negro slavery, which you endeavored to deduce from the *New Testament*, terminates as that which you derived from the *Old Testament*, in the justification of slavery, irrespective of the complexion of the skin, or other physiological distinctions. And this is your ultimate and true position.

It would not be difficult to add more; but it would be useless.* I might consider the

* Article in *Methodist Quarterly Review*.

* In fact, in view of your dogmatic assertion that no condemnation of slavery could be found in the *Scriptures*, I might have declined noticing in any form your argumentation. For as Horne observes in his "Introduction to the Study of the Bible," "It is only an unbiased mind that can attain the true and genuine sense of Scripture."

tauteur and intolerance, exhibited through out your speech, and show how you,

"Too eager in dispute,
Flew high; and as your matchless fury rose,
Damn'd all for heretics who durst oppose."

But enough has been written to convince many that in every important respect you are destitute of the qualifications which are necessary for the position for which you have been nominated by an unpatriotic faction, and which it appears you are exceedingly solicitous to attain. And most earnestly do I hope that the people of Pennsylvania, forming correct judgments of your principles, sentiments, abilities, and purposes, rising in the power of incensed freemen, will rebuke your lofty aspirations, and leave you after the second Tuesday of October to exclaim, in nearly the exact words of Cardinal Wolsey:

"Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness!
This is the state of man. To-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
And bears the blushing honors thicke upon him.
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost;
And when he thinks—good easy man—full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls as I do. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth. My high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream, that must forever hide me.
* * * * *
And when I fall, I feel like Lucifer.
Never to hope again!"

Yours, &c.,

September 17, 1863.

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